1: Powdermaker E-5 (1929-1930) 1933 OM10 New Ireland OM10
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and in discussing it with native informants, they said it was because he paid for it with *tsera*. It has already been noted that land, as a rule, is inherited automatically, and this is the only instance of a "sale" of land (even though a temporary one) between natives.

While land is communally owned, vegetables, trees, and anything planted on it are individually owned. Thus, if a man plants a tree, this tree and its fruit belong exclusively to him, and at his death will belong to his maternal nephew, or some other clan relative. But the land on which the tree is planted retains its communal ownership.

The same principle holds for the sea. There is no private ownership of rights in fishing. The sea and the reefs are open to all. If a man makes a trap in the shallow water off the reef, the fish in it will belong to him. But anyone can make such a trap in any place.

Thus the land and sea, from which come the means of livelihood for these people, are communally owned, and only the actual fruits of one's labour are private possessions. Objects owned individually are: ornaments, spears, implements, houses, clothes, and currency.

SEASONAL VARIATIONS

The utilization of these communally owned natural resources for individual needs might be called work. Production is much the same all the year round, and there are very few seasonal variations. The two seasons are: (1) that of the South-East Trade Winds, which is the dry season, and (2) the one of the North-East Monsoon, which brings the rain. The former begins in April and lasts until December. But this is the wet tropics, so that even in the so-called dry season there is usually some rain once every twenty-four hours, most frequently in the night. During the rainy season there is less fishing and a slight lessening in general outdoor

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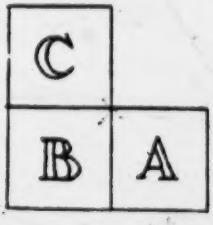
frequently three gardens will be in process at one time. 244
One will be ready to harvest, another is being planted, and a third is being cleared of the dense bush. The following diagram illustrates one woman's gardens:



PLAN OF GARDENS

A is the old garden, where the daughter is pulling the ripe taro.
B is the new garden which she is planting.
C is the garden where her husband is clearing the ground.

The whole family is thus working at one time. The gardens penetrate farther and farther into the bush, although eventually after a sufficient period of time the planting is at the original places. Much pride is taken in the gardens, and whenever I visited them the women showed me around very proudly.

It has already been noted that the produce is the property of the person who plants it. The woman regards the taro as hers, and with it she feeds her family. Parents and children, when they are old enough, all work together in the gardens. At times a married woman will assist her mother, or two sisters or other close kin will help each other. A man is always expected to give assistance in the gardens of his relatives by marriage. [422]

FISHING

Fishing is a purely masculine occupation. But while every man fishes, some are known to be more skilled 226